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Message Text

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EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE WASHDC INFO ATHENS NICOSIA
FROM ANKARA 21 APR 75:

QUOTE S E C R E T ANKARA 3136

EXDIS

FROM HARTMAN

EO 11652 GDS
TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY, GR, MASS
SUBJECT: HARTMAN'S TALKS WITH FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL

1. FIRST DAY ANKARA, APRIL 21, WAS LARGELY OCCUPIED WITH TWO SESSIONS OF TWO HOURS EACH WITH CAGLAYANGIL. TURKISH POSITION WAS MUCH AS WE HAD EXPECTED.

2. DURING MORNING SESSION, EACH SIDE SET FORTH ITS POSITION ON AID EMBARGO, CYPRUS, AND GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS.

3. I BEGAN BY EXPLAINING MY VISIT AS A CONTINUATION OF THE SECRETARY'S VISIT LAST MONTH. I DESCRIBED IN SOME DETAIL
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CONGRESSIONAL ACTION AND SOUNDINGS SINCE THEN, INCLUDING SFRC VOTE, THE PRESIDENT'S AND SECRETARY'S STATEMENTS, AND FAVORABLE SHIFT IN CONGRESSIONAL SENTIMENT. RE CURRENT

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SITUATION IN SENATE, I MENTIONED PREOCCUPATION WITH
SOUTHEAST ASIA, ALONG WITH OUR ASSESSMENT, SHARED BY A
NUMBER OF CONGRESSMEN, THAT SENATE WAS LOOKING FOR A
DEVELOPMENT THAT WOULD PERMIT MEMBERS TO REVERSE THEIR
VOTES, WITH SIMILAR SENTIMENT IN HOUSE WHERE TASK OF
REVERSING VOTES WAS MORE DIFFICULT.

4. I EXPRESSED OUR VIEW THAT CONGRESSIONAL ACTION HAD BEEN
HARMFUL TO OUR RELATIONS WITH TURKEY, SECURITY RELATIONSHIPS
IN AREA, NEGOTIATIONS ON CYPRUS, AND GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS,
AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO LINK BETWEEN ARMS QUESTION AND
CYPRUS. HOWEVER, AS TURKEY MOVED TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS
IN ACCORD WITH ITS OWN TIMING, VISIBLE SIGNS OF PROGRESS
WOULD BE HELPFUL.

5. RE CYPRUS, I SPOKE OF OUR IMPRESSION FROM TALKS WITH
BITSIOS AND CARAMANLIS THAT GREEK GOVERNMENT WANTED EARLY
AGREEMENT, AND WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO FAR IN MEETING
TURKISH POSITION ON BIZONAL PRINCIPAL AS LONG AS THEIR CONCERN
RE ECONOMIC VIABILITY OF GREEK SECTOR COULD BE SATISFIED.

6. RE GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS, I NOTED THAT WHILE TALKS IN
VIENNA WERE IMPORTANT, AT SAME TIME IT WAS IMPORTANT TO
SEEK UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, FOR DIRECT
CONTACTS.

7. CAGLAYANGIL ASKED THAT I CONVEY
HIS APPRECIATION TO THE SECRETARY FOR HIS INTEREST IN TURKEY'S
PROBLEMS AND HIS HAVING SENT AN EMISSARY TO DISCUSS THEM.
HE REVIEWED HIS UNDERSTANDING OF CONGRESSIONAL SITUATION AND
STRESSED POINT THAT VIETNAM SITUATION WHICH WAS CAUSING DELAY IN
SENATE'S CONSIDERATION OF TURKISH AID PROBLEM, MADE IT ALL THE
MORE URGENT THAT AID BE RESTORED URGENTLY. TURKISH PUBLIC, HE SAID,
WAS ASKING QUESTIONS. "WHEN OUR SECURITY IS THREATENED WHAT WILL
THIS ALLY, ON WHOM WE RELY, REALLY DO?"

8. CAGLAYANGIL GAVE LENGTHY EXPLANATION OF TURKEY'S INTERNAL
POLITICAL SITUATION AS A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY IN A SEA OF
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TOTALITARIANISM. SOCIALISTS WERE NOT ABLE TO ORGANIZE
OPENLY, AND HAD TEMPORARILY GIVEN THEIR SUPPORT TO ECECIT'S
PARTY, THE RPP. SOONER OR LATER SOCIALISTS WOULD BE
REPRESENTED BY SEPARATE POLITICAL PARTIES, BUT MEANWHILE, THEY
WOULD CLAIM TO ACT ON DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPALS WHILE IN FACT USING
TOTALITARIANISM LEFTIST METHODS. THIS MADE IT DIFFICULT FOR
PRESENT GOVERNMENT TO FOLLOW A PRO-US POLICY.

9. CAGLAYANGIL'S ONLY REFERENCE TO POSSIBLE ACTION AGAINST
US INSTALLATIONS IN TURKEY WAS TO NOTE THAT PRESS AND PEOPLE
WERE SAYING TURKEY HAD US INSTALLATIONS TO COLLECT INFORMATION

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ON A VERY POWERFUL NEIGHBOR AND WERE ASKING "HOW LONG
WILL THE GOT CONTINUE TO ASSUME THIS RISK AND WHY?"

10. CAGLAYANGIL EXPLAINED THAT TURKISH PUBLIC OPINION AND
HIS COALITION PARTNERS WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO ACCEPT TURKEY'S
MAKING CONCESSIONS IN ORDER TO REVERSE THE AID CUTOFF.
HOWEVER, GOT COULD STATE THAT CYPRUS PROBLEM HAS BEEN A
CHRONIC ONE, AND THEN IDENTIFY THE ISSUES TURKEY COULD AGREE
ON AND ASK COALITION PARTNERS AND THE OPPOSITION TO TAKE IT OR
LEAVE IT AND MAKE DECISION IN THE INTEREST OF TURKEY.

11. CAGLAYANGIL SAID IT WAS NECESSARY TO START A NEGOTIATING
PROCESS. HE REFERRED TO PROBLEM WITH GREEK FOREIGN MINISTRY
WHICH DID NOT APPEAR INFORMED REGARDING OFFER BY STAVROPOULOS,
ON INSTRUCTIONS FRM CARAMANLIS, TO BEGIN PREPARATORY TALKS
WITH A TURKISH REPRESENTATIVE IN GENEVA. CONCESSIONS, HE
SAID, COULD NOT BE MADE BEFORE NEGOTATIONS. TURKEY HAD
ALREADY SHOWN IT GOOD WILL BY OFFERING TO OPEN FAMAGUSTA
PORT AND THE NICOSIA AIRPORT AND BY WITHDRAWING SOME TROOPS.
HE HAD IMPRESSION HE WAS BEING ASKED TO WHISPER IN SOMEONE
ELSE'S EAR WHAT COULD BE CONCEDED, BUT IN FACT HE COULD SAY
IT ALOUD. TURKISH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE READY TO
DISCUSS, IN ADDITION TO CYPRUS, ALL OTHER PROBLEMS
INCLUDING CONTINENTAL SHELF, INTERNATIONAL WATERS, REARMING
OF GREEK ISLANDS, AND THE MINORITY PROBLEMS, ALL OF
WHICH COULD BE SOLVED.

12. DURING AFTERNOON SESSION I COMMENTED ON CAGLAYANGIL'S
MORNING PRESENTATION BY REFERRING TO SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES
IN CONGRESS, RATHER THAN ANTI-TURKISH BIAS, THAT HAD BROUGHT
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ABOUT EMBARGO. I THEN ASKED, IN VIEW OF APPARENT CONFUSION
IN TURKISH MINDS RE GREEK POSITION ON BILATERAL TALKS, WHETHER
I COULD INDICATE TO GREEK GOVERNMENT THAT TURKEY WAS READY TO
DISCUSS BROADER RANGE OF ISSUES PARALLEL WITH VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS.
CAGLAYANGIL SAID HE DID NOT WANT ME TO MENTION DIFFICULTIES
TURKS WERE HAVING IN ARRANGING PREPARATORY TALKS WITH
DIFFERENT LEVELS OF GREEK GOVERNMENT, BUT I COULD TELL GOG
THAT TURKISH GOVERNMENT HONESTLY WANTS TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS,
PROVIDED OTHER SIDE SHOWS SAME DESIRE.

13. IN REPLY TO MY QUESTION ON HOW TURKS VIEWED PROSPECTS
(BARBLED PORTION) CAGLAYANGIL MENTIONED PROBLEMS IN GETTING TALKS
STARTED IN FORUM SATISFACTORY TO TURKEY, AND
EXPRESSED FEAR THAT MAKARIOS MIGHT TRY TO ENHANCE HIS OWN
POSITION THROUGH VIENNA TALKS. HE THOUGHT CLERIDES WOULD
TRY TO GET A SETTLEMENT TO ENHANCE HIS POSITION AS HEIR
TO MAKARIOS AND TO USE IN BETTERING HIS FUTURE RELATIONS WITH
TURKISH CYPRIOTS AND GOT. THIS, HE SAID, WAS A
POSITIVE FACTOR. HIS CONCERN, HOWEVER, WAS THAT GREEKS

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MIGHT TRY TO MAKE IT LOOK AS IF TURKS WERE BLOCKING
AGREEMENTS AT VIENNA. NEVERTHELESS, TURKEY WOULD GO TO
VIENNA WITH GOOD WILL AND TRY TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION.

14. I CONVEYED OUR IMPRESSION THAT CLERIDES WAS TENDING
TOWARD TURKISH POSITION ON TWO ZONES AND THAT HE HAS GOG
SUPPORT. WHILE WE THOUGHT DIRECT TURKISH-GREEK TALKS WOULD
BE HELPFUL, ONLY STATESMEN COULD PROVIDE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK
FOR DISCUSSION OF DETAILS BY TECHNICIANS.

15. CAGLAYANGIL REPLIED THAT IF VIENNA TALKS BEGAN WELL, AND
AFTER PREPARATORY TALKS AT STAVROPOULOS LEVEL, HE MIGHT HAVE
OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH BITSIOS BEFORE THE NATO SUMMIT
TO HELP PREPARE GROUND FOR A MEETING IN BRUSSELS BETWEEN
CARAMANLIS AND DEMIREL. HE THOUGHT ENTIRE FIRST DAY IN
BRUSSELS SHOULD BE SET ASIDE FOR BILATERAL CONTACTS.
HE HAD INSTRUCTED ESENBEL TO RETURN TO WASHINGTON TO SEE THE
SECRETARY AND TRY TO ARRANGE FOR DEMIREL TO MEET WITH
PRESIDENT FORD IN BRUSSELS (EMBTEL 3112) ON MAY 29. HE
THOUGHT FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE IN VIENNA FOLLOWED BY TURKISH-US
AND TURKISH-GREEK MEETINGS AT NATO SUMMIT MIGHT
REPRESENT SUFFICIENT PROGRESS FOR THOSE IN CONGRESS WHO
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WISHED TO CHANGE THEIR POSITION ON TURKISH AID.

16. I REPLIED THAT CAGLAYANGIL'S SUGGESTIONS WERE CONSTRUCTIVE
AND THAT I WOULD REPORT HIS REQUEST FOR BILATERAL MEETINGS
MAY 29. I THEN REFERRED TO THE SECRETARY'S PREVIOUS
SUGGESTION THAT A NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK MIGHT BE ACHIEVED
WHICH WOULD NOT INVOLVE ADVANCE CONCESSIONS BUT RATHER
AN INDICATION OF THE POSITION FROM WHICH THE TWO PARTIES COULD
BEGIN TO DISCUSS THE ISSUES.

17. CAGLAYANGIL AGAIN DESCRIBED POLITICAL PROBLEM FOR TURKISH
GOVERNMENT IN DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC AND OPPOSITION WHICH WERE
SUSPICIOUS OF "CONCESSIONS." HE SUGGESTED THAT, AFTER
NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN, TURKISH GOVERNMENT COULD TAKE FIRST
RESULTS TO COALITION PARTNERS AND OPPOSITION AND OBTAIN THEIR
AGREEMENT ON A SOLUTION WHICH WOULD BE IN NATIONAL INTEREST AND
ACCEPTABLE TO PUBLIC OPINION. "TERRIROTY," HE SAID, "IS
EASY TO SEIZE BUT MORE DIFFICULT TO SURRENDER."

18. CAGLAYANGIL SAID HE RECOGNIZED THAT BOTH GREEK AND
TURKISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS WHICH REQUIRE
THEM AT TIMES TO SPEAK WITH TWO VOICES, BUT SINCE THEY WERE
EXPERIENCED, THEY COULD DEAL WITH THIS PROBLEM (GARBLED PORTION)
FIND A WAY TO PREPARE OPPOSITION AND COALITION PARTNERS, AND
CARAMANLIS WOULD HVE TO FIND HIS OWN METHOD TO DO THE
SAME. HE WAS NOW READY TO MEET WITH BITSIOS. IT WAS
NOT NECESSARY THAT THEY SOLVE MAJOR PROBLEMS, BUT THEIR

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DIRECT DISCUSSIONS COULD BE CONSIDERED A SUCCESS, AND THEN
THEY WOULD KNOW WHETHER THEY WERE ON RIGHT TRACK OR SOME
OTHER OPTION SHOULD BE PURSUED. TO REACH SOLUTIOLAGREECE
AND TURKEY WOULD BOTH HAVE TO BURY THEIR COMPLEXES.
IN CONCLUSION, HE REFERRED TO TURKEY'S TIES WITH
THE "MOST POWERFUL WESTERN NATION WITH WHOM WE HAVE LINKED
OUR DESTINY." HE HOPED US WOULD NOT, IN ITS DECISIONS, MAKE
IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

18. BEFORE MEETING WITH PRESS, CAGLAYANGIL EXPLAINED THAT
IT WAS WIDELY BELIEVED THAT I HAD COME TO ANKARA TO MAKE
DEMANDS ON NEW TURKISH GOVERNMENT. HE THEREFORE WISHED IN
HIS STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (SEPTEL) TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT
THIS WAS NOT THE CASE. MACOMBER UNQUOTE KISSINGER
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